3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

they have no knowledge of mining and are not at all inclined to acquire such knowledge even though they realize that gold and platinum command good prices at the settlements. Furthermore, they are extremely distrustful of and even hostile to everyone connected with mining or prospecting enterprises.

Health Conditions

Associated with the natural resources of a region are its health conditions, which in the Province of Esmeraldas are very good in comparison with most parts of the South American tropics. In fact the Esmeraldas shore is reputed, on good grounds, to be the most salubrious territory of the entire western coast of South America. Indeed, during the entire time spent by the author in the region, there was not, so far as could be learned, a case of any of the ultra-serious contagious diseases, and certainly none was reported in those portions of the province in which he resided. During the same period, however, both bubonic plague and yellow fever broke out with marked violence at Guayaquil, about two hundred miles southward, and there was also an epidemic of yellow fever at Tumaco, not more than fifty miles to the north along the coast from the mouth of the Rio Santiago. As pointed out in speaking of the insects of this region, neither the plague-bearing flea nor the yellow-fever bearing mosquito are found in the Province of Esmeraldas, hence the absence of these two diseases.

The most serious, and in fact practically the only serious, contagious disease of frequent occurrence in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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leaf, a covering of the most available material is employed. The material used for this temporary thatch is usually a palm-leaf, but generally of some species of palm which provides a much less durable thatch than that used for the permanent dwelling. 342 [824]

These ranchos serve two purposes almost exclusively, namely, temporary shelters while traveling, and temporary shelters for work which lies too far from home to make daily journeys to and from the regular dwelling profitable. When traveling it is infeasible, not to say dangerous, to sleep upon the ground and without some kind of a roof, owing to the torrential rains which are almost sure to occur during the night, as well as to the danger from poisonous reptiles and other creatures. If, therefore, in traveling, it is impossible to reach a house by night, an early halt is made and a rancho constructed. This is rarely necessary except in case of a long trip over an uninhabited mountain trail, since along the navigable rivers are houses which may be reached in the course of the day's travel. Here the traveler, whoever he may be, is always welcomed according to the custom of the country, the unwritten law of which requires that shelter be given any traveler, whether he be an old acquaintance or a total stranger. When it is necessary, in gathering rubber or pita, in making canoes, or in doing any other work, to journey so far from the permanent dwelling as to make daily travel back and forth unprofitable, a small rancho is built. Such a structure may be used for a short time or for several seasons, it being re-thatched as occasion demands In the [574] [609] [222]

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sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Sahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayapa, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayapa practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayapa guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayapa house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently: if it is a Cayapa canoe, excited whispers are heard "/ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃i/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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At the Negro village of Canoruma, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Encanto Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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